/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
● 142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they
[291] always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

Suráre, Pakidái, Waica Shiriana

/9 cont./

142 pouting lips of a mouth that is never too large, there are always two gleaming rows of sound teeth. Their beautiful, always straight hair is a very dark brown. They all have a thick head of hair, but lose it in old age. No bald spot appears, however; the hair then simply looks as though it had been cut very short all over the head. Individual men have a thin growth of beard on [302] either side of the lips and on the chin; occasionally they pluck out the beard hair. The rest of their body hair is limited to the pubic region. Women pluck out their pubic hair, as well as their eyebrows and lashes. Young girls usually have well-formed, hemispherical, firm breasts, which, however, become slack and pendulous after the first child, although at that time the women have often not even reached the age of 18 or 19 years old.

114 142 These observations parallel the descriptions which Alexander von Humboldt gives of the Waikâ (Guaicas) and Guahariho. He also describes them as tribes "with whitish skin color and very small stature." He adds, however, "the shortness of the Guaicas and the whiteness of the Guahariбos, /10/ whom P. Caulín calls [141] Guahariбos blancos, are equally exaggerated" (44). The Guaicas

44. A. von Humboldt, 1860, IV, pp. 113 ff.

measured by Alexander von Humboldt were "on the average four feet seven inches to four feet eight inches (according to the old French measurement)" (44) /see footnote above/, in other words, about 1.52-1.55 meters. Koch-Grünberg gives the same body height for the Waiká (Wafka) whom he met in Motomotó on the Uraricuera and whom he likewise describes as very light-skinned (45). In

45. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 293.

[141] another place Koch-Grünberg writes: "The Schirianá and Wafka of Motomotó were small people, on the average about 1.52 meters tall. In no case did the height exceed 1.55 meters... Older people had distended abdomens and thin legs... These people, who were by nature ugly almost throughout, were even more

Surára
Pakidái
Waica
Shiriana

/10 cont./

114 repellent because of the lack of any kind of body care" (46).
142

46. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 304.

Chaffanjon expressed himself in a similar manner, but even more disapprovingly, with regard to the Guaharibos: "Small and puny, thin limbs, a stomach enormously distended, hair long and dirty, a bestial countenance make them look repulsive. [291] [411] They are absolutely naked; two men have a long and scraggly beard; their complexion is lighter than that of all the Indians whom I have thus far mentioned; their only weapon is a stick" 114 /translated from the French/ (47). Finally, it should be men- 141

47. Chaffanjon, 1889, pp. 308-311.

tioned that, of approximately 40 adult Waiká, Zerries established an average figure of 151.5 centimeters for men and 142 centimeters for women (48a).

48a. Zerries, 1956a, p. 186.

114 Comparisons show that the Surára and Pakidái have the same 142 physical characteristics as the Guaharibo, Xiriána, and Waiká (48b).

48b. Only recently there appeared a work by the same author, "Beiträge zur Anthropologie der Waika- und Schiriana-Indianer im Grenzgebiet zwischen Venezuela und Brasilien /Contributions to the Anthropology of the Waica and Schiriana Indians in the Border Region Between Venezuela and Brazil/," which is supplemented by excellent illustrative material (Zerries, 1959, pp. 31-41).

It is therefore astonishing that Chaffanjon and Koch-Grünberg describe the Indians that they studied as so strikingly ugly. It

/10 cont./

114 142 is true, the related Surára and Pakidái, as well as the Waiká in the catchment area of the upper Orinoco, embody a type that is strange to us (see Ills. 9-24 /see pp. 270-274/ and ills. in Zerries, 1959), but certainly not one that is repulsive to that extent.

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## VI. Technology and Material Culture

### 1. House Forms

The Surára and Pakidái are familiar with four different house-forms. The simplest and probably the earliest form, which at present, however, is used only as overnight quarters by one family during the expeditions in the virgin forest, is similar to a wind-screen /Windschirm/ (Ill. 4). It is built in the following way: In front, one or two supports, 2-2.50 meters long, are set into the ground at intervals as long as a hammock; about three meters behind these there are two weaker supports, 1-1.50 meters long, at somewhat longer intervals. The upper ends are joined together with poles; cipó-titca (a type of liana) serves as lashing material. The poles are also frequently tied to trees standing a short distance apart, instead of the rear supports. Over this 12 to 15 thinner poles are placed crosswise, and on top of these four to six are placed lengthwise. This results in a more or less steep frame-work which has the shape of a lean-to roof (Ill. 4). Palm leaves [824] are laid on this so that the hut gives secure protection against the rain; even the most severe tropical thunderstorms cannot [352] harm the Indians sleeping under it. The hammocks are fastened [354] in the form of a triangle around the fire burning in the center; In the case of larger families, two hammocks often hang one above the other.

361 /11/ If the entire tribe is on the march, the huts of the individual families are always placed in a circle around the chief's hut standing in the center, after the virgin forest has been hastily cleared to a certain extent beforehand. The space between the huts is five to eight meters.

/62 cont./ The father
844 of the child later hangs it on the tip of a pupunha palm
[824] (Guilielma speciosa Mart.), which is connected with fertility
[842] magic; he buries the afterbirth in the planting. Two confinements which I was able to observe were very easy and quick.
● [142] On the lower part of the children's back I could see in each case the grayish-black spots of pigment, the so-called Mongolian spots.

844 Immediately after birth, the mother with her baby took a
846 bath at the nearby riverbank and then lay down in her hammock for one or two hours. After that, with the baby on her arm, she already went back to her customary occupation.

845 If a complication arises during confinement, the chief, who
[622] is at the same time the witch doctor, is fetched.
[756] In contrast to most other Indian tribes, twins are reared.
845 If there should be triplets, which so far has never occurred, one
847 child would have to be killed, for, as they said, the mother has only two breasts. Deformed children are killed and thrown into the river.

852 There are no birth ceremonies, for up to its third year of
851 life the child belongs to the flesh and blood of its mother and
553 is not given a name before this.

854 d) Infancy and early childhood

The infant or young child is not left alone for a moment. When the mother attends to her housework or gathers fruits and berries in the forest, she carries it in a carrying band of tree bast on her left hip, so that she has the right hand free for her work.
853 Even at night it sleeps with her in the hammock. The breast is constantly at its disposal, so that it never /63/ thinks of sucking its finger. This may perhaps also explain why these Indians have such a perfect set of teeth. As soon as the teeth start coming in, the child is given tough meat to chew on, in order to facilitate teething. At the same time the long period of nursing, along with abundant sunshine, prevents rickets. After 3-4 months the baby is given supplementary food in the form of cooked, green mealy bananas (Musa paradisiaca normalis), which are prechewed by the mother, or a porridge made out of manioc flat-cakes.

2: Becher--270 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

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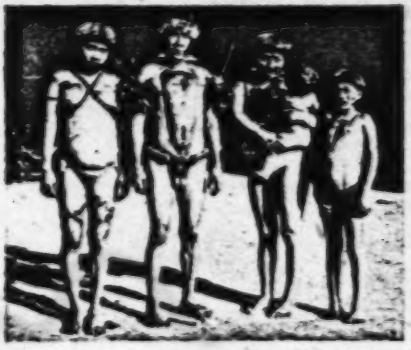
Ill. 8. Construction of the closed Surára maloka at the Cachoeira dos Índios (upper Rio Aracá)

Ill. 9. Hewemao, the Surára chief (adorned for the festival in memory of the dead)



Ill. 10. The Surára chief Hewemão with both of his wives and two children

Ill. 11. Kurikayawo, the younger brother of the Surára chief

2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Porëhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1980 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriána
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

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Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

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Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

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Ill. 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

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Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

Surára, Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

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Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

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Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

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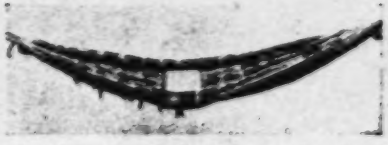
Ill. 27. Liana hammock



Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

Surára.
Pakidái

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Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

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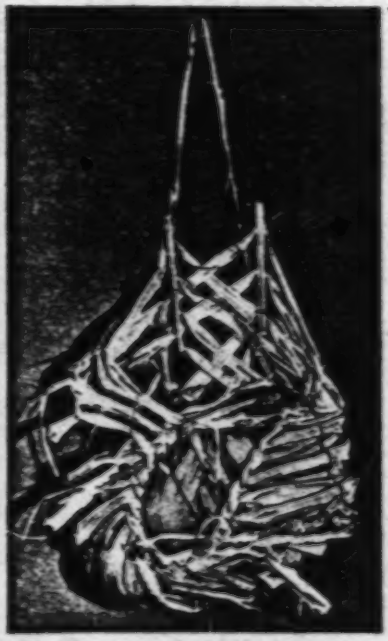
Surára
Pakidái



Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves

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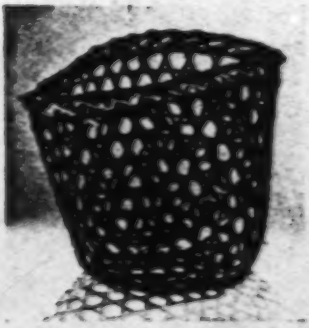

Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curaua plant

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Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

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Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porčhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái



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Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blow snuff-powder into each other's noses

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Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

2: Becher--280 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidai

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Ill. 46. Height of ecstasy

Ill. 47. Circle dance in the state of ecstasy

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Ill. 48. Petapoanhamũ -- the embracing-combat performed in a sitting position

*4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

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Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

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A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house. The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

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Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

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Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

/187 cont./

105 The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

114 101 The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648 Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

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The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

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Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 ' E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 ' SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

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Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4. Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ1
Sanema

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Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4: Wilbert--76 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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Waica boy of the upper Orinoco.
Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi.

4: Wilbert--77 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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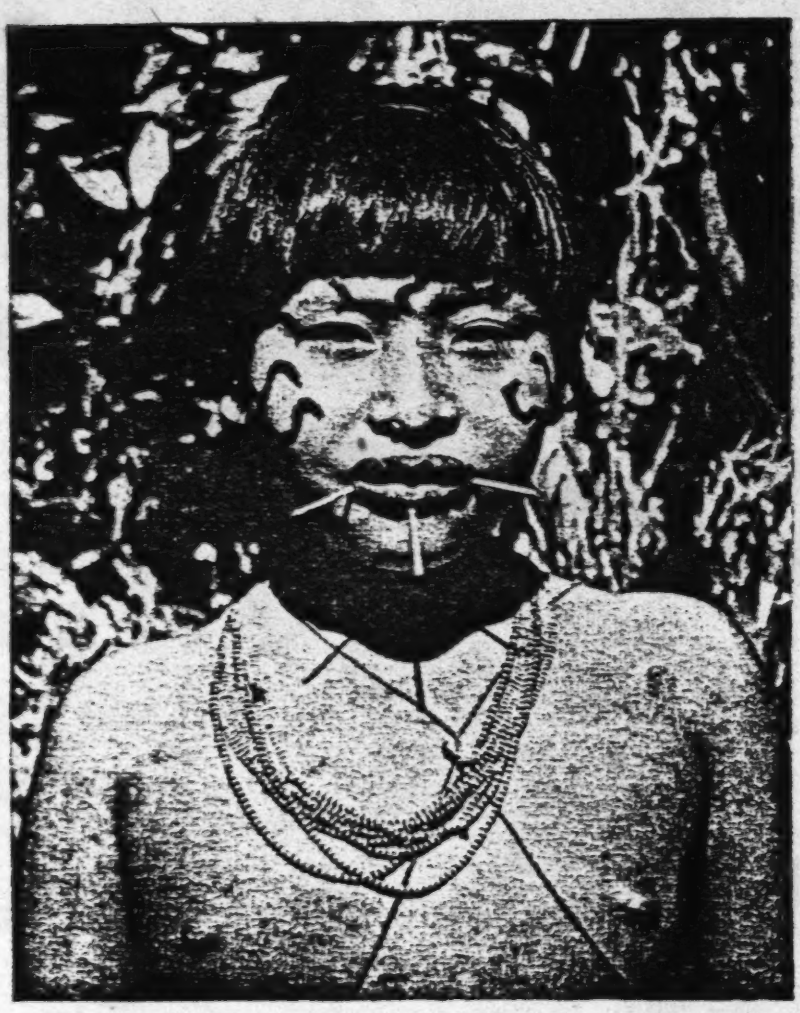

[304]

A Waica girl of the upper Orinoco. The little sticks are held in perforations of the lips.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuzzi

St Layrisse et al. D, E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica



Waica,[9] there seems to be a strong tendency towards bilocality. Although bilocal extended families are relatively rare,[10] their existence among the semi-nomadic Yanoama could very well be possible, since there do not exist any decisive economic factors which could strongly favor unilocal residence. Among the Sanemá of the Caura (incipient agriculturists) we have observed initial matrilocal with subsequent patrilocal residence and a rather formal initiation of common residence of the spouses. Polygyny is permitted and young girls are frequently married to men even before their first menstruation. The kinship system is of the Hawaiian type.

Local groups follow the suggestions of a headman in peacetime and receive orders from a war chief in wartime. There appear to exist at least two and possibly three different religious-medical practitioners among some of the subtribes, who (*hāwīawan*) represent their community at the court of a deified Culture Hero, who (*sabli*) regulate the groups' relationship to a host of animal and plant spirits, and who (*kāilala*) cure physical ailments of mainly non-supernatural origin.[11] The *sabli* (shaboliwa) seems to be the most important practitioner of the Waica, among whom the *hāwīawan* has not been observed.

*Physical appearance.* Two authors have recently reported on the occurrence of a great phenotypical variation among the Sanemá (Samatari)[12] and among the Waica.[13] They mention four different types with more or less specific physical features:

a. A minority pygmoid type with a general stature of less than 130 cm, light skin, fine-cut faces with a gay expression, small hands and small feet.
b. Relatively tall type, dark skinned, robust, stout, and with a wild facial expression.
c. Type of medium stature, round-headed, with a feminine expression, small nose, small mouth, and yellowish clay-colored skin. Some individuals have wavy hair and brown instead of black eyes.
d. "Mongoloid" and "semi-Tartaric" type with almond-shaped eyes, frowning expression, protruding forehead and pointed chin, thin beard, slim, and of medium stature.

We shall return to this observation in a later chapter.

9 Barker, 1953, p. 478.
10 Murdock, 1949, p. 35.
11 Wilbert, 1961a.
12 Vinci, 1936, pp. 124-125.
13 Zerries, 1959.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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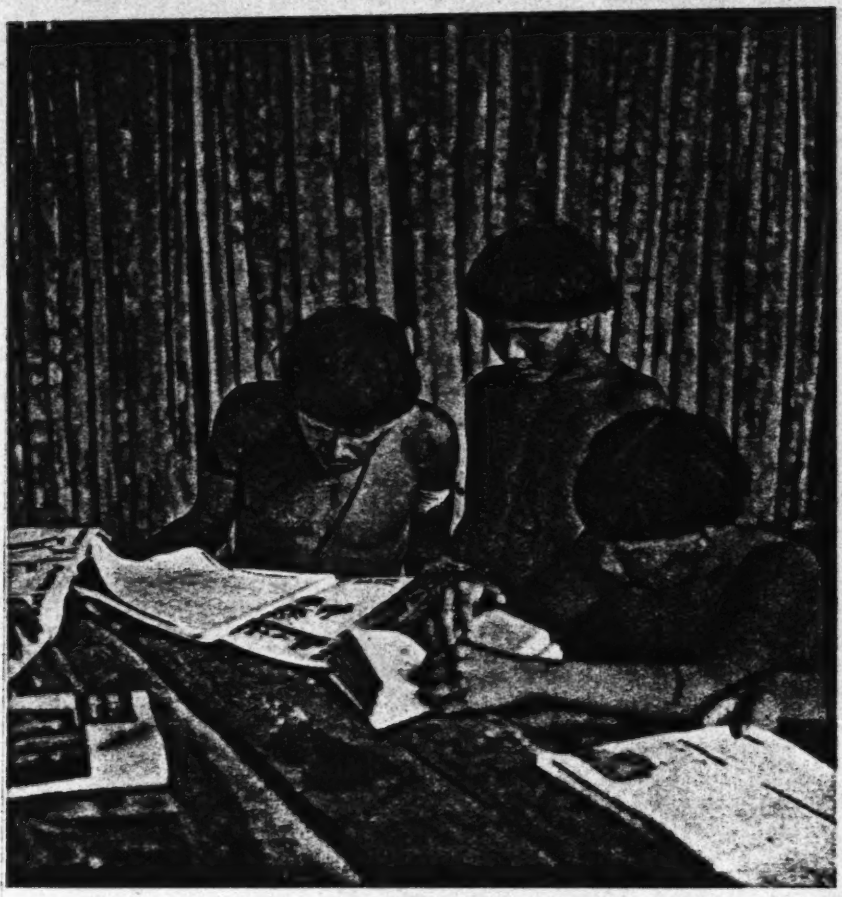

9. *Reading-matter reaches the Anai Shyriana.*

[p. 96 - A]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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10. *Luis Antonio prefers the local tobacco to our own civilized brands.*

11 & 12. *Waveno's brothers-in-law.*

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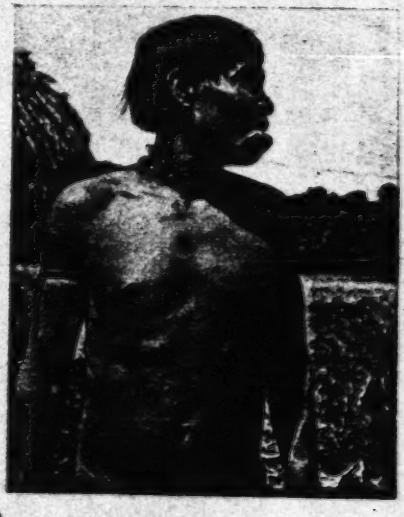

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[P.96-B]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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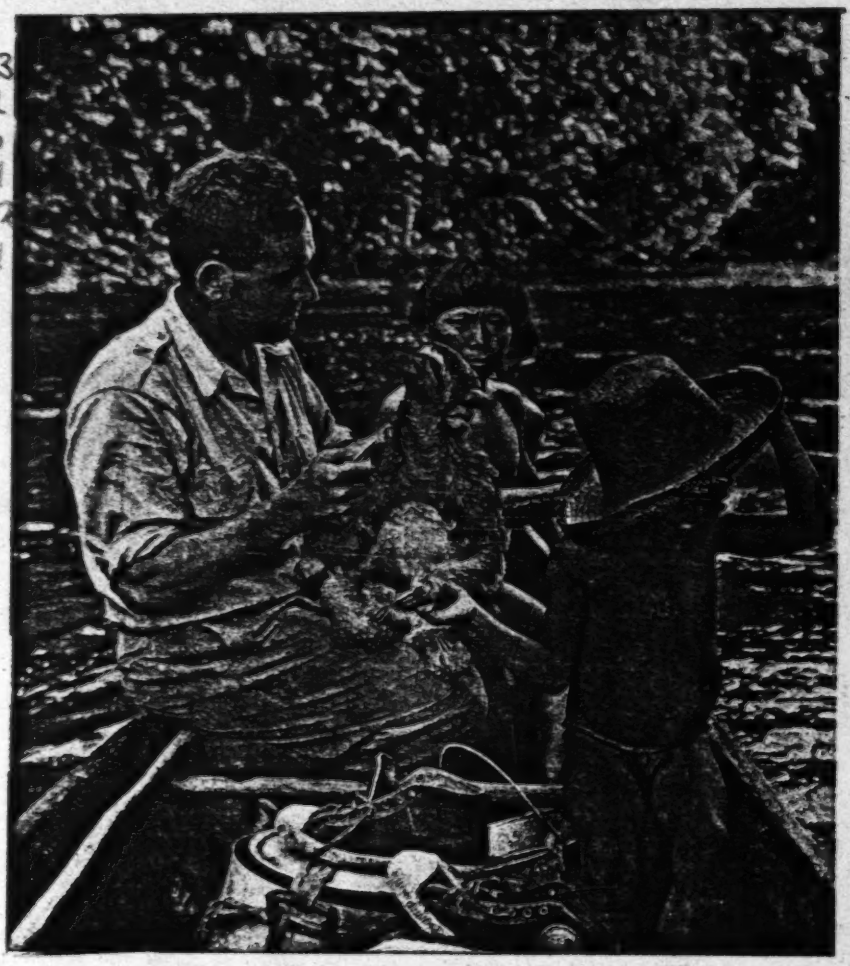

14. On the river Wagua: a sloth.

[p. 96 - D]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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15. *Grubs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Samatari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

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[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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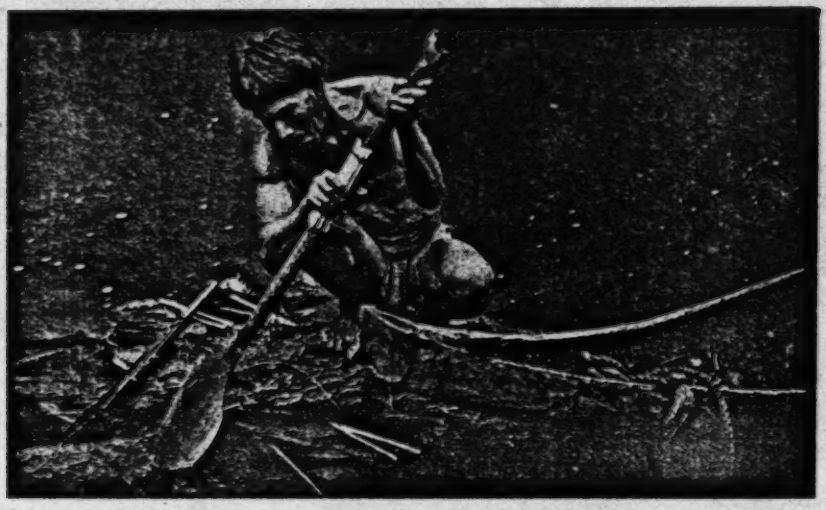

18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

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* 123

19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



*123 to bolder measures against our bodies—indeed, they appeared to be giving their respective husbands peremptory orders to gain possession of our superhuman faculties, so that their own families should have the benefit. In which they were behaving like mothers of families and ambitious wives of every level of society all the world over! However, by the time they had begun to intervene, the whole orgy was beginning to slow down: now the Samatari were making first for Enrico, then for me, in the hope of finding some new marvel, having exhausted them nearly all.

The spectators were beginning to thin out when the Samatari I have called 'my own man' reappeared among them. He was no longer wearing my shirt, and his whitened skin looked like powdered chalk. There was really something about his face which gave it a strange resemblance to my own—in the general bone structure if nothing else: he was of a type which differed slightly from the usual Mongolian-faced Shirian. It is no rare thing to come across these fundamental resemblances to somatic types common in Europe—even among the most remote and primitive races.

[142]

But this resemblance now suddenly assumed a terrifying significance when my own man started measuring his features against mine, spanning both with thumb and finger: he was trying to prove the similarity to make sure that my beard would fit him.

I was familiar enough with the tales the Makiritari Indians told about the Shirians. According to them, when the Shirians got hold of a bearded man they removed the beard, flesh and all, dried it out and stuck it on their own faces like a mask so as to appear in the guise of a white man. I'd always put this quaint tale down as just another Makiritari legend, since they were always eager to credit their neighbours with horrifying habits and most unlikely deeds. But here was 'my own man' with his plastered complexion and his ugly face and his strange resemblance to a white man who had come all the way from Italy, a quiet innocent land whose inhabitants need no such masks and are unacquainted with the Shirians.

Everyone round about was laughing. The man's intentions were becoming clearer all the time. Perhaps he, too, knew the story of the white-man's-mask, perhaps the Samatari told it about still more savage people—the white men themselves, for example? But no one will ever know for certain, for at that moment I developed some strong inventive faculty: face to face with death, I found a way back to life that was both safe and honourable! With gestures of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



great-hearted generosity, I pulled some hairs out of my beard and my chest (though there were few enough left after the harvest!) and dabbed them on 'my own man's' disgusting chin, trying to make them stick there. He understood, and said something to the others, which resulted in the arrival on the scene of some *peroman*. This is a vegetable gum, with which they set to work to glue firmly on to his chin these 'seeds' of human beard, which, I explained as best I could by howling, would spread and flourish in a short time.

'One Pulipuli,' I shouted, at the same time trying to manage a confident, hopeful laugh. 'In one month. Pulipuli.' Everyone took up the word with satisfaction, and the rest of them began to stick snippets of hairs on their own faces, trusting that they would become bearded men within a month!

All this time my trousers, as interesting exhibits, had gone the round of the whole tribe, meeting Enrico's on the way. In the space of a few hours, every pair of bronzed Samatari buttocks had been inserted into them.

Among these savages, various somatic types could be observed. They repeated themselves with a striking uniformity in various individuals. Among the odd hundred beings howling round us, I saw four that were basic: the pygmy, with clear skin, fine and well-marked features, a lively look and very small, nervous hands and feet; this type rarely exceeds four foot ten inches in height. The comparatively tall—a good example being my own man, with skin darker than any of the Makiritari, strong and thick-set, expression fierce. Then the Samatari of medium height and slightly muddy pigmentation, soft, almost feminine features, very small nose, tiny mouth and round head—a really girlish appearance altogether, this being even more strongly emphasized where the hair style showed a curious wave, and in two extremely exceptional cases where the eyes were brown and not black. Finally there was a fourth type, Mongolian or, perhaps, more accurately, Tartar—a type frequently met with in the basic physiognomy of the Brazilian half-breed: of medium height, and lean, the face ending in a pointed chin so that it looks like an isosceles triangle upside down. The expression is grim. Protruding cheekbones, almond eyes, and—exclusive to this type alone—a beard, even if it is only composed of a dozen hairs on the chin, left to grow in Chinese-Mandarin style.

The womenfolk were not attractive in appearance, as we had found those of other Shirian tribes—notably the Uarema and the Auai. Their short—very short—stature and lack of any womanly grace, together with their grim, almost evil, expression, gave them a general appearance that was more masculine than

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema



*123 ●142

feminine. The hard struggle for existence is naturally reflected more strongly in the women, the bearers of the race.

On the whole the Samatari, just as they speak much the same language, differ very little in other ways from the rest of the Shirians, except in so far as they are, so to speak, more typical. They represent the nearest approximation to the ideal Shirian, the physical symbol of the whole race. And paradoxically this 'ideal' quality could be seen in all four somatic varieties: each seemed the prototype of its kind.

As regards the pygmies, who were very much in the minority, it seems to me that here we have an ancient, autochthonous race, formerly conquered and then later assimilated by the Shirians, on an equal footing. To infer the reverse of this process would be absurd.

*123 [291]

The women were completely naked. Combined with their hairlessness and their filth, this hardly increased their feminine charm. The men went naked too, but following the custom of such Indians as wear no loincloth, their genitals were gathered up and bound tight to the lower belly with a string of lianas wound round the body. However strange it may seem, this usage has nothing to do with modesty, being simply a device to keep one's unmentionables from getting caught on thorny undergrowth in the woods.

## IV

The Samatari gradually retired to the shelter of the palm leaves, leaving only the roughest customers still hanging round Enrico and me. We were together again at last, while our Guayca guides had mysteriously disappeared into some hidden quarter of the encampment. As a last straw, parties who had been out hunting began to straggle back, a few at a time, while it was still daylight. Each little band of newcomers had no idea we were there, and each time we had to go through the same near-massacre.

Those who had already inspected us and qualified as experts on the nature of bearded men shouted the news to those who came later, well before they reached the camp-fire zone. These late-comers would run up to us and when they saw us, stop suddenly, with an expression of bemused cupidity filling their eyes. Then, uttering sharp little howls that reminded me of the jubilant yapping of a beast that has cornered its prey, they would hurl themselves on us

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Our chief occupations were the louse and the



flea—the penetrating variety, *Afroamericana nigua*, which keeps everybody's feet busy in the equatorial zones of our globe every bit as effectively as the dances that originate there. Americana is not such a bad animal as his African brother, the jigger, though he is more plentiful. Indian feet are full of him, and the open craters in the horny, almost bony patches forming the ball of the foot are evidence of the constant care they take to keep open the little insects' snug lairs and prevent him from taking up permanent residence.

The eradication of lice is carried out at a family or social gathering in a spirit of mutual aid. Men and women will all sit round together in a circle making a thorough inspection of one another's thick hair till they come upon the black louse crouching there silently, like a peccary surprised in the forest, among the roots of the hairs. He is taken between two fingers and disposed of in the simplest fashion: he is eaten. The same privilege is accorded to the eggs, which like all eggs must taste delicious. The nigua can be dealt with by oneself but female collaboration is nevertheless appreciated. A soft, gentle hand—Samatari ladies have exceedingly small hands and feet—introduces a pin (presented by us) or a splinter of Corozo palm (presented by the forest) into the little nest. The white grub of this accursed insect then emerges into the light of day, but the fate reserved for it is not a human end. It is thrown to the fish, which come along in shoals for the fat tit-bit.

We had no soap, and during these halts the best we could do was to splash water over ourselves. The Samatari were not interested in following our example: rain gave them the only baths they ever took. We couldn't even swim to get clean, as we had done in the 'black water' rivers higher up, because there was danger lurking here beneath the harmless-looking surface.

The perils of tropical rivers are five in number—five major perils, that is, because the minor ones, like the amoeba and other parasites, may loom large among the fads and fancies of medical men but do not form part of the psychological baggage of the explorer.

The caiman is king of these perils. His reign is uncontested. His body may be anything up to thirteen feet long, solid and impregnable as a crest of rock. Almost equal in rank is peril number two—the anaconda or water-serpent: if the caiman is king, the anaconda is certainly queen. She is a wonderful monster, up to ten yards in length, with all the force of a hurricane. And being a reptile, the anaconda has all the virtues of the reptiles, enhanced by her aquatic habits, which make her cleaner and nobler than them all.

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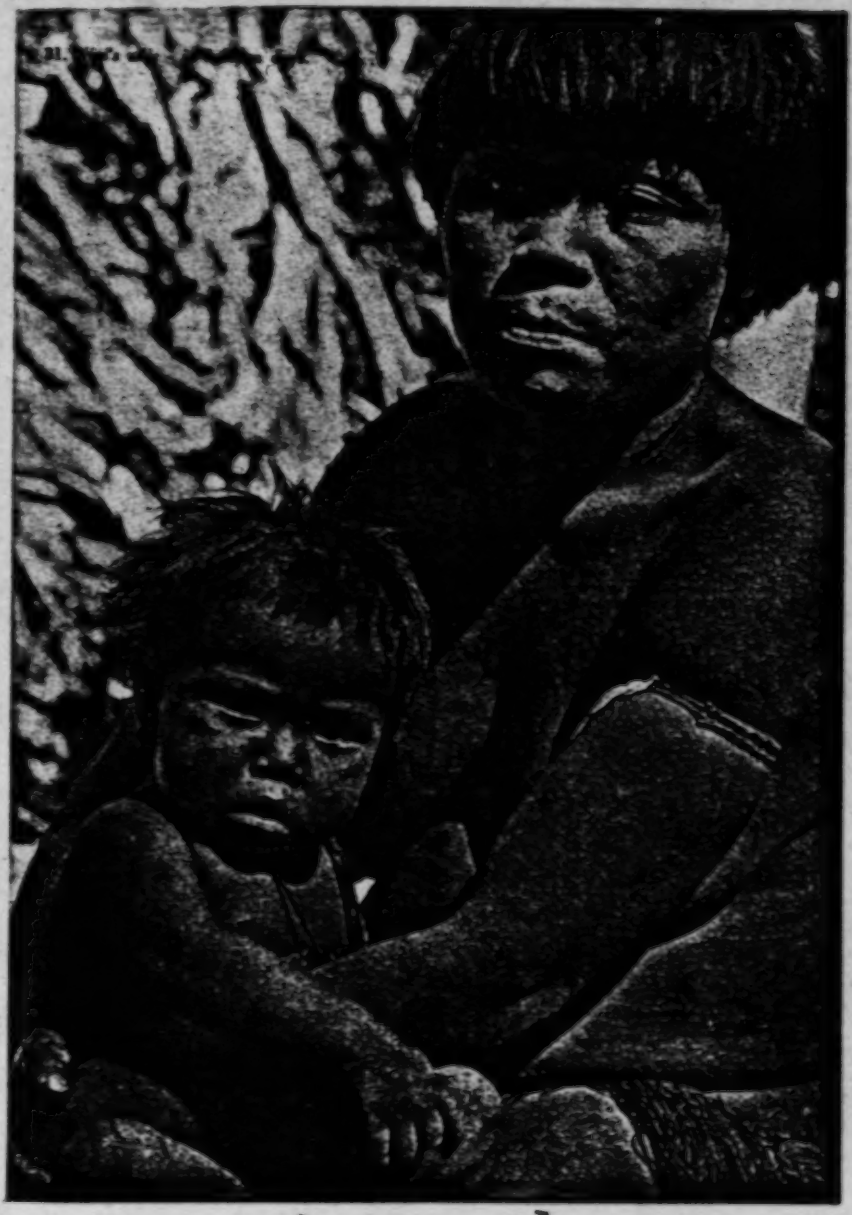

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6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Tanoama SQ18
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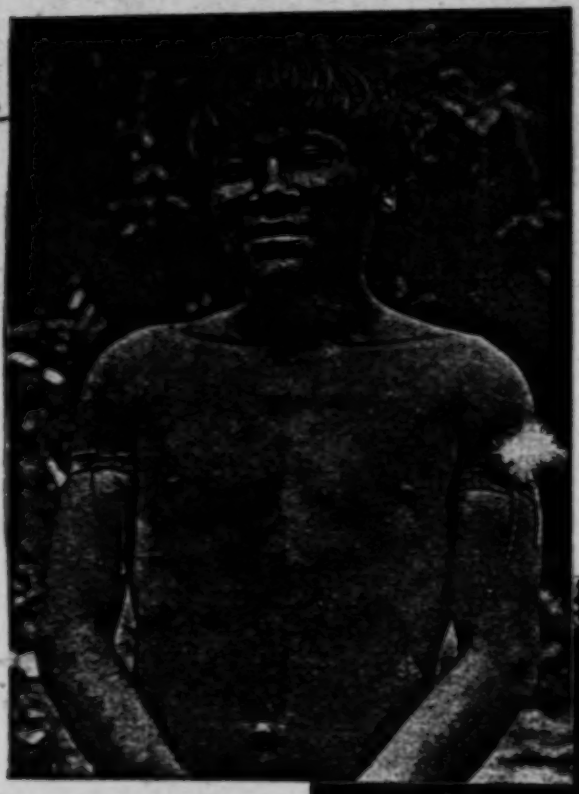

35. Dalfino was pale and handsome.

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36. A typical primitive: a man of great skill, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

• 142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

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Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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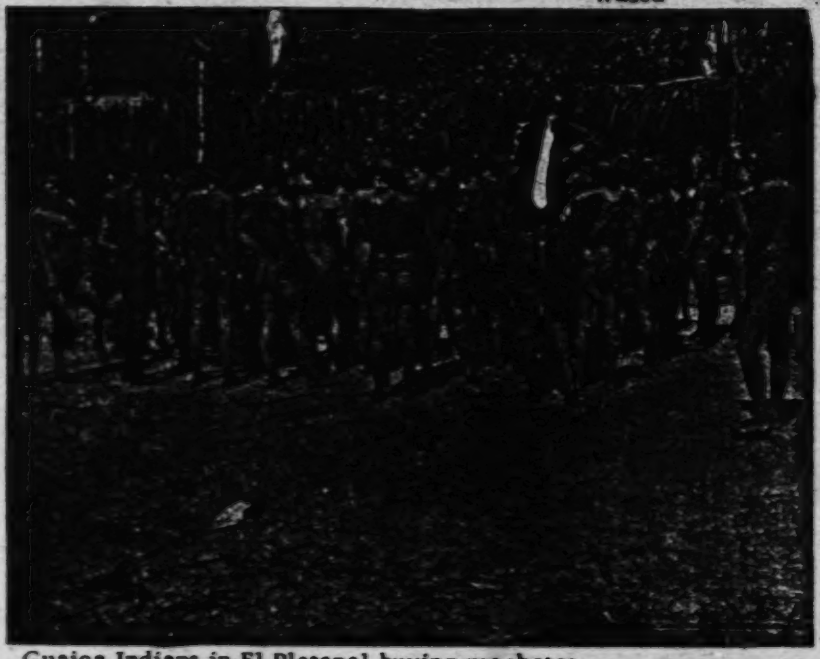

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

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Guahariho Indian of the Padamo river. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64 – A]

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*TOP:* One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

*BOTTOM LEFT:* Guahariboo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

*BOTTOM RIGHT:* Guahariboo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[n.64-B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo



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[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guaharibos, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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*TOP:* The Waikas jump aboard as soon as we touch the shore. Notice lower lip extended by a quid of tobacco. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

*BOTTOM:* This one has just received the gift of a pencil. Notice the shaven skull and the scars on the scalp. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96—D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica



It was on July 15th that we encountered our first Waikas. We were sailing close under the left bank during the late afternoon when we heard hoarse cries near by. Two naked Indians with faces and bodies painted violet showed themselves among the trees. With excited gestures and brandishing their bows, they motioned us to come closer.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " they shouted.

" *Shori ! Shori !* " we repeated and held up machetes for them to see.

By the time we had found a suitable landing-place on the bank the two had become six—six young men laughing, shouting and jostling each other excitedly. All were painted. While we were still making fast, they plunged into the water and hoisted themselves aboard. We gave them machetes and *manioc* and they gave us bows and arrows in return. Judging from the way they fingered our clothes, boots and beards we must have appeared very peculiar creatures to them. All the time they kept saying " *Shori ! Shori !* " and we responded as in a litany, " *Shori !* "

Physically the Waika is no different from the Guaharibo. He has the same stocky body and contrasting thin legs. His hair is cut monk-fashion with the top of the head shaven. He wears no clothes but a string of forest cotton which serves as a belt and keeps his privy member tied upwards by means of a knot round the prepuce. On his arms above the elbow he wears a bangle of tightly woven cotton, monkey's fur or bird's skin. His ears are pierced to take ear-rings of reed. Sometimes a bunch of different coloured parakeet's feathers, or toucan's feathers, is used for this purpose. Occasionally he will wear a belt of cotton threads died with ochre. At first we thought this to be a badge of rank or authority, but later we saw so many of these garments and they were offered so readily as barter that we had to revise this idea. Another frequent form of adornment is the pelt of a capuchin monkey worn on the head like a tiara. And all of these ornaments, besides bows and arrows, were freely offered to us in exchange for knives, necklaces and matches.

The bow is the Waika's only weapon. Made of strong,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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Waika Indian of the " Platanal ". (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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Waika family of the " Platanal ". *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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*TOP:* Women of the " Platanal ". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. (*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

*BOTTOM:* Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[P. 112-C]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
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The Waika always carries with him his little knives made of a rodent's incisors. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

*Below:* Pierre Ivanoff and one of our Waika friends. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

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[p. 112-D]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica



I tried to take some photographs of them, but they cowered back behind each other, clucking like frightened chickens, and the men gestured to me to stop. One of them, a one-eyed old man, despatched a stream of spittle from his quid into my face. 123

"*Shori! Noji!*" I protested, and laughed. I got out my comb and combed my hair and beard. He came over and examined the comb and my hair and stroked my beard. Then he, too, laughed.

"*Shori!*" he repeated.

I set about combing his crown of short bristly hair. He laughed louder and spat heartily. I slipped my arm round his shoulders and placed the view-finder of my camera against his good eye. He groaned and hopped from one foot to another, and I pressed the release. Then he laughed again and allowed himself to be photographed but he would not allow me to take pictures of the women until we had made further gifts of knives.

In the missionaries' hut, which was identical with the others, we saw the beginnings of the first Waïka dictionary. While we were there a native came up and led me to a hut where his wife was suckling a few-week's-old baby. The baby's two-year-old brother was playing in the dust with two mangy dogs as thin as a skeleton and of no recognizable breed. The child's body was covered with scabs about the size of threepenny bits. Quite obviously the father expected me to do something about the affliction, and I made up my mind to give Barker some tubes of sulphonamide. Barker told me that infant mortality was high among the Waïkas, adding that he had never known a child to be born or to die within the village enclosure. Since the sojourns of these people within the village were invariably brief, birth and death invariably occurred in the course of their peregrinations. [164] [165]

The men and youths all had deep scars on their scalps, made the more conspicuous by their shaven crowns. In answer to our inquiries we were told in gestures that these came from some sort of stick or club, but whether in battle or ritual, we could not discover. (The following year King Leopoid II's expedition to the same area saw similar long head-scars among Waïka women.) 142 [114]

[P. xvii]

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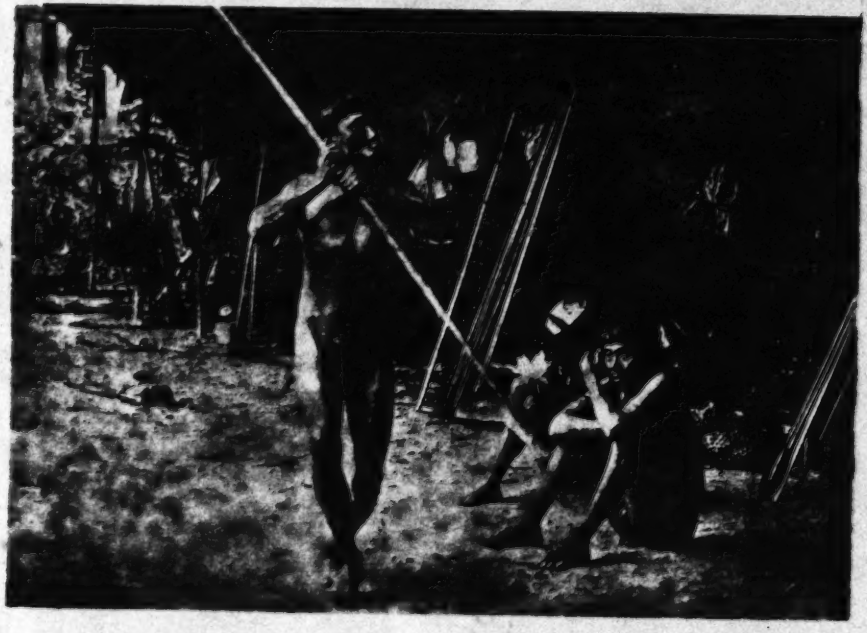
*Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).*

*Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekura (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).*



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[P. xviii]

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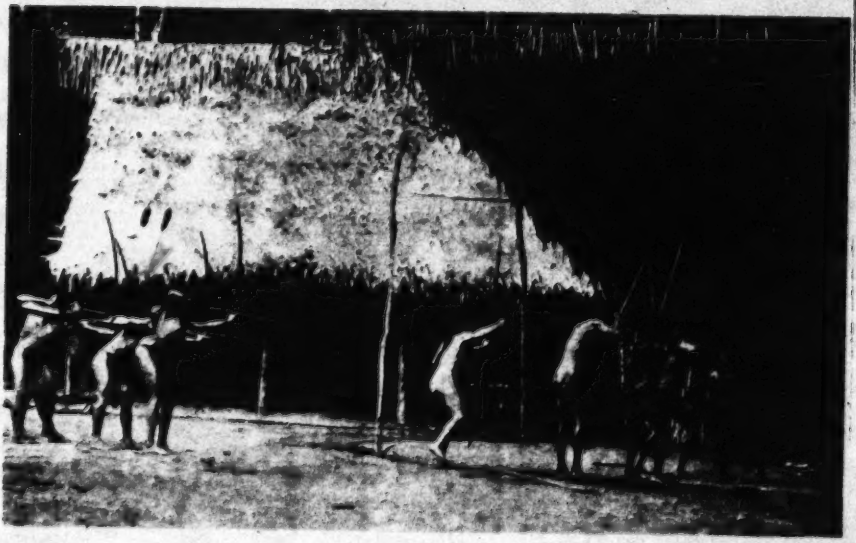
*Clay pots and banana (plantain) peelings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.*

*Mishimishimi men shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).*



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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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*Fig. 1–1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.*

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way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1–1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18



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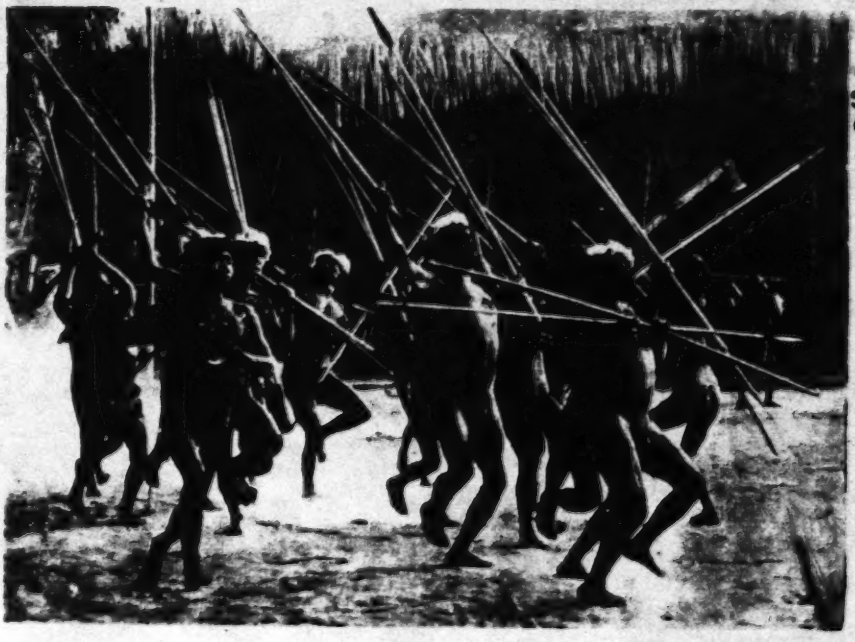
The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

*Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.*



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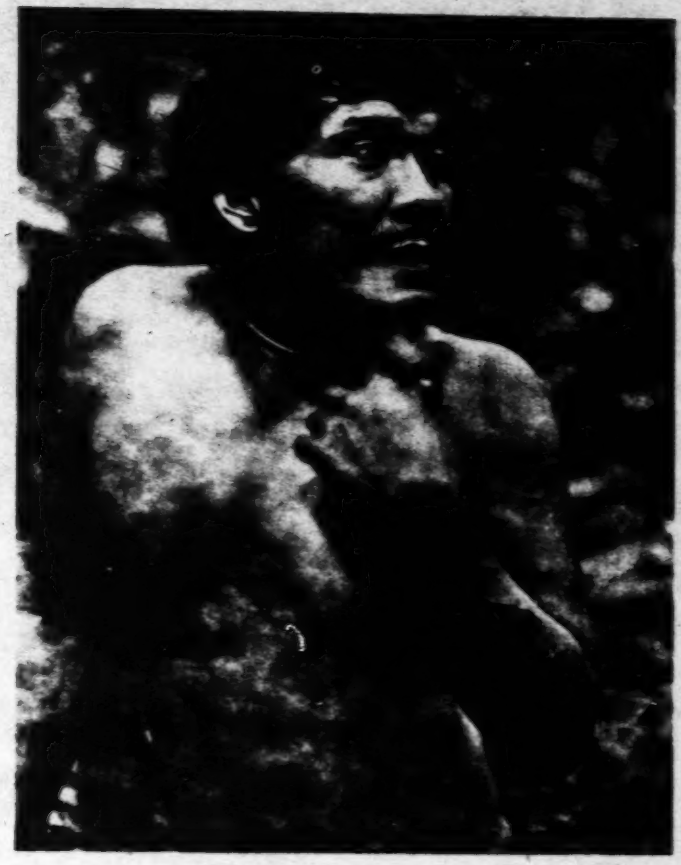

*Fig. 1–3. Kaobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.*

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yanomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village.

Kaobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1–3). I say "about" because the Yanomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1–4). Kaobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kaobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18



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other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

[399] [393] [939] [822] [196]

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

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*Fig. 1-4. Kaomakima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1988 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18



he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

*Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an* ebene *session sitting on the sideline in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon F-S (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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*Fig. 2-3. Man blowing cheese, a hallucinogenic drug, into each other's nostrils by means of a hollow tube.*

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SHELTER All house materials likewise come from the jungle: poles, vines, and leaves. The Yąnomamö permanent house—*shabono*—is probably the most sophisticated manufacture produced by these people. Its construction requires considerable cooperation, planning, labor, and patience. Unfortunately, the *shabono* only lasts one or two years because the leaves begin to leak, or the entire village is burned to the ground in order to destroy the cockroaches, scorpions, spiders, and other vermin that infest the house. These can become such a nuisance that the roof is literally alive with bugs. Kąbawë's house was so badly infested at one point that the noise of thousands of scurrying roaches produced a constant, noticeable din in the village. Whenever someone got out of his hammock, the roof just above his head would suddenly come alive with roaches, disturbed by the movement below. As they scurried to safety, many of them would fall off, producing a shower of bugs on the occupants below. There were so many bugs that the increased activity above the moving person also increased the din, as if a sudden gust of wind had disturbed the dried leaves.

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Each individual builds his own section of the *shabono*. The man usually does all the heavy work of locating and fetching poles for the frame, placing them into the ground or tying them overhead, and weaving the numerous leaves into the roof thatch. The wife helps by gathering the leaves and vines used in the construction.

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The first step in building a new *shabono* is the selection of the site. This is usually some well-drained portion of the garden, such as a slight rise or hump.

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*Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.*

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

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The Yąnomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

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*Fig. 2-6. Rerebawä climbing a* rasha *tree to collect the palm fruit. The tree has many sharp spines on it, and the Yąnomamö use an ingenious device made of crossed poles to climb the tree. The climber stands on one pair of poles and lifts the other pair up the tree. Then he climbs to the upper pair and lifts the bottom pair up. In this way the tree is slowly ascended, and no thorns get stuck in the body.*

### The grubs

are wrapped in small packages of leaves and placed in the hot coals to roast. They render down in the heat, yielding some liquid fat, which is licked off the leaves, and a soft, white body. I could never bring myself around to eat one, but an experienced missionary told me they tasted very much like bacon. But then I suppose that anything cooked in a smoky fire tastes like bacon.

The discarded seeds of palm fruits also get infected with much smaller grubs. The Yąnomamö break the hard seeds open with a rock, extract the grub, and prepare it in the above manner.

Some species of caterpillar are also eaten. They are not cleaned before cooking; the squirming insects are simply wrapped in leaves and thrown into the coals to roast.

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*Fig. 2-7. Onusimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.*

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikaä*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

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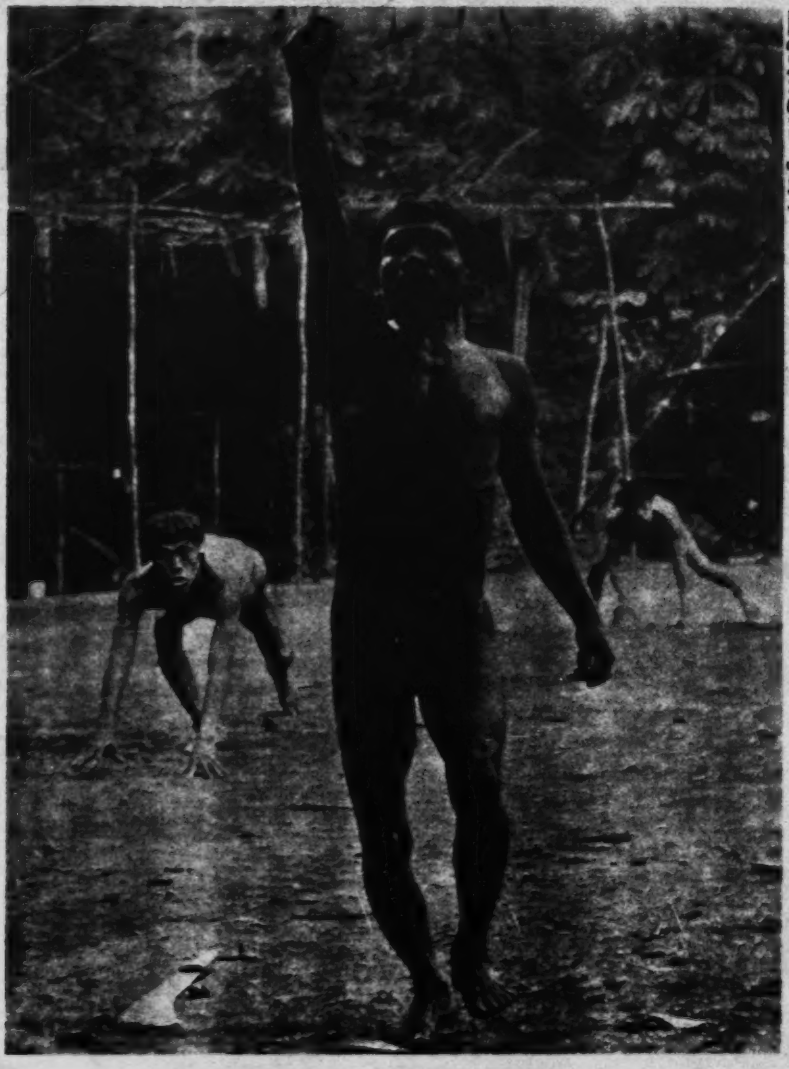

*Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their* hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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*Fig. 1–5. Armuam, Kaobawä's son, being fondled by his mother's brother. This is a very intimate kinship relationship in Yąnomamö society.*

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*Fig. 3-6. Women hauling firewood from the jungle to the village at dusk.*

for suitable wood. There is usually an abundant supply in the garden within a year of 462
the clearing of the land, but this disappears rapidly. Thereafter, the women must forage 313
further afield to collect the daily supply of firewood, sometimes traveling several miles each day to obtain it. It is a lucky woman who owns an axe, for collecting wood is a tedious job without a steel tool. The women can always be seen at dusk, returning to the [482]
village in a procession, bearing enormous loads of wood in their pack-baskets (see Fig. 3-6). Good planners will spend a great deal of time collecting wood on some days so that they can take a vacation from this chore on others. If a woman locates a good supply of wood near the village, she will haul as much as she can and store it rather than let it be taken by her covillagers.

Women must respond quickly to the demands of their husbands. In fact, they 593
must respond without waiting for a command. It is interesting to watch the behavior 462
of women when their husbands return from a hunting trip or a visit. The men march slowly across the village and retire silently to their hammocks. The woman, no matter [252]
what she is doing, hurries home and quietly but rapidly prepares a meal for the husband. Should the wife be slow in doing this, the husband is within his rights to beat her. Most 593
reprimands meted out by irate husbands take the form of blows with the hand or with a 164
piece of firewood, but a good many husbands are even more brutal. Some of them chop their wives with the sharp edge of a machete or axe, or shoot them with a barbed arrow in some nonvital area, such as the buttocks or leg. Many men are given over to punishing their wives by holding the hot end of a glowing stick against them, resulting in serious burns. The punishment is usually, however, adjusted to the seriousness of the wife's [537]
shortcomings, more drastic measures being reserved for infidelity or suspicion of infidelity.

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Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

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CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobawä, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

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*Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobawä's favorite son, building a male-bolima house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.*

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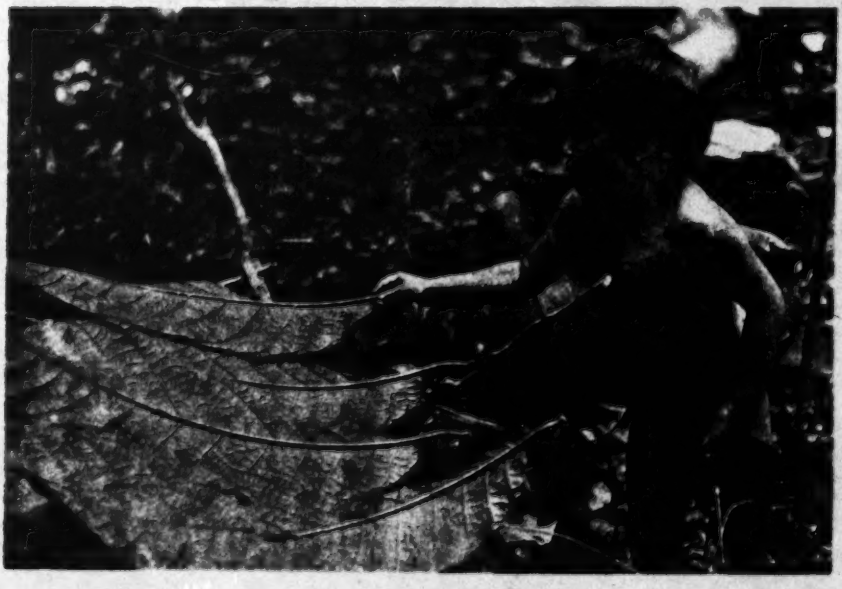

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drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

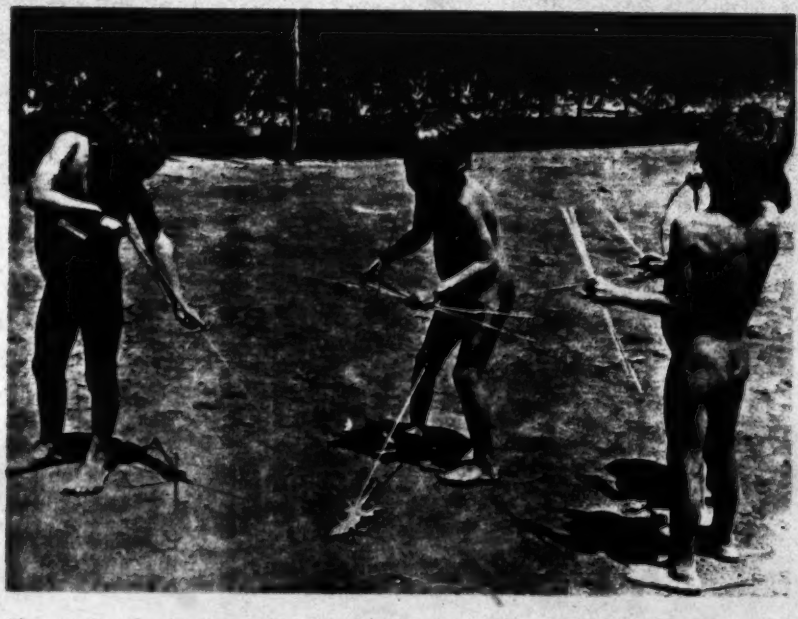

*Fig. 3-8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.*

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwã, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwã's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwã went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwã recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawã had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwã before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawã disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

On another occasion one of Kaobawã's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawã managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawã stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

*Fig. 3-9. Kaobawã (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been bashed on the head and blood is streaming down his back.*

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*Fig. 4–1. Kaobawë, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.*

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*Fig. 5–1. Karöma, one of Kaobawä's daughters, picking lice out of her grandfather's battered head—his scars are from club fights. She wears decorative sticks inserted in the corners of her mouth as a beauty aid. These were inserted at about age five, together with one in the lower lip and another in the nasal septum.*

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*Fig. 5–3. One of Kaobawä's Shamatari allies, painted black, views the warriors lining up through his bowstring. He waits his turn to join them, a wad of tobacco protruding from his mouth.*

at some point between their own village and the enemy's. These smaller groups must 726
contain at least four men, six, if possible. This is so because the raiders retreat in a pattern. While the others flee, two men will lie in ambush, shooting any pursuers that might follow. They, in turn, flee, while their comrades lie in ambush to shoot at their pursuers.

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*Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs* (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

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located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

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The Monou-teri and Bisiasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

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The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

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A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.

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*Fig. 5-5. Hakoubikawä leading a raiding party against the Patanowä-teri.*